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## A SOURCE OF *EUPHUES*. *THE ANATOMY OF WYT*

The popularity and influence of *Euphues*. *The Anatomy of Wyt* (1578) can hardly be ascribed to the didactic and moralizing matter which it contains in such abundance. Tedious to the modern reader, this matter needed something other than itself to render it palatable even to the Elizabethan. The pill must have been sugar-coated. Nor could the style alone—"Euphuism"—have so widely popularized a collection of dull diatribes on education, friendship, love, and theology. Euphuism, indeed, had actually been tried before without popularizing the dull works it had somewhat adorned. Characterized by tricks of antithesis and balance older than Gorgias, itself only a phase of the general European revival of the artificial rhetoric of antiquity,<sup>1</sup> it had, in particular, been quite definitely anticipated in English years before the appearance of *Euphues*. To retell a twice-told tale: Guevara's *Libro del Emperador Marco Aurelio* in North's translation, *The Diall of Princes* (1557), gave Lyly not only much of his didactic matter, but, occasionally, a model for his style as well; while Pettie's *Pallace of Pleasure* (licensed, and probably published, 1576) exhibited, as Dr. Landmann has also shown,<sup>2</sup> "to the minutest detail, all the specific elements of Euphuism." Yet we do not hear that either of these works was notably popular; and it was to neither North nor Pettie that the imitators attached themselves, but to Lyly.

The reason is almost too simple. Lyly has a good long story to tell. It is a story which, though deficient in action, is full of interesting situations exhibiting contemporary manners; which in its attempts at characterization, crude though they be, effectively portrays certain universal types—the coquette Lucilla, the perpetual lover Philautus, Euphues the malcontent; and which, finally, is articulated with real skill, its material being artistically distributed

<sup>1</sup> Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 780, 786 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to his edition of *Euphues*, Heilbronn (1887), p. xxi. This, as far as I am aware, is Dr. Landmann's latest work on the subject. I therefore quote it rather than his dissertation *Der Euphuismus* (Giessen, 1881), or his paper in the *Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society* (1885).

into successive stages and scenes that evolve naturally one from another. In a word, where North and Pettie offered respectively a series of edifying anecdotes and a series of short love tales from the antique, Lyly offers the first English novel.

Hitherto, however, the volume of Lyly's didactic and moralizing matter and the interest justly attaching to his style have tended to obscure the importance of his plot. The sources of the former have been found; while the source of the latter has never, as far as I know, been sought. Scholarship has scarcely thought the plot worth noticing at all. Dr. Landmann,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bond,<sup>2</sup> and Professor Atkins<sup>3</sup> are agreed that the story as such is inconsiderable, almost negligible.

Surely this opinion does but scant justice to a story which, in very brief summary, still bulks as large, and offers as much of interest, as the following:

Euphues, a young gentleman of Athens, during a sojourn at Naples makes friends with a Neapolitan, Philautus, who is the accepted lover of Lucilla, daughter of Don Ferardo, a governor of the city. In the course of time Philautus introduces Euphues to Lucilla. Euphues falls in love with her at sight, retires in confusion,<sup>4</sup> and in a soliloquy weighing his love against his friendship determines that his love shall prevail. Philautus seeks him out at his lodging, and, finding him sick, asks his confidence and proffers his own good offices. Euphues deceives his friend by feigning that he is love-sick for Livia, one of Lucilla's companions. Having thus disarmed suspicion, he the more readily finds an opportunity to woo Lucilla, who after some hesitation admits that she returns his love. Shortly afterward, when her father urges her to marry Philautus, she declares in Philautus' presence that she prefers Euphues. A breach between the friends is the result. As Ferardo opposes the new match, Euphues must for a time avoid Lucilla. During his absence she falls in love with one Curio, and definitely jilts Euphues

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxli.

<sup>2</sup> *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford, 1902), I, 159; cf. 141, 162.

<sup>3</sup> In *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (New York and Cambridge, 1909), III, 392.

<sup>4</sup> At the same time Lucilla, likewise in a soliloquy, confesses to herself that she loves Euphues, and resolves to have him despite the probable opposition of her father.

when he next appears. Her fickleness forms the basis of a renewal of friendship between Euphues and Philautus. Euphues, now a confirmed misogynist, retires to Athens to resume his studies. Lucilla's marriage to Curio so grieves Ferardo that he dies; and, though she is left heir to his wealth, she comes to a disgraceful end on the streets of Naples. Philautus, it is hinted, is courting Livia. So closes *Euphues*. *The Anatomy of Wyt*.

Now in the sources of *Euphues* hitherto recognized there exists no trace of this plot. When Dr. Landmann<sup>1</sup> says that not only the style, but the "contents," of *Euphues* are imitated from Guevara, he is thinking of these contents as a collection of essays, moral lectures, treatises, and letters, not as a story.

But there does exist in a source accessible to Lyly the earlier part of the story of *Euphues*—its opening situation and almost exactly its evolution and articulation, together with hints for the later part. A young stranger, Tito, sojourning in Athens, becomes the friend of a young citizen, Gisippo; is by him introduced to his betrothed, Sofronia, a maiden of noble birth; falls in love with her immediately<sup>2</sup> and retires to his chamber; soliloquizes, determining that his love must prevail over his friendship; falls sick of love; is visited by his friend; receives his friend's request for confidence and offer of service; and, at first, deceives his friend. Such is the beginning of Boccaccio's tale of Tito, Gisippo, and Sofronia, *Decameron*, Giornata X, novella 8. Here the two plots part company;<sup>3</sup> for Boccaccio's is a tale of true friendship, Tito at length confessing to Gisippo his love for Sofronia, and Gisippo yielding her to him,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xxii. I have not had access to Guevara's work in the Spanish. Neither Lord Berners' translation, *The volume of Marke Aurelie emperor, otherwise called the golden boke*, which I have examined in Berthelet's edition of 1538, nor North's translation, *The Diall of Princes*, which I have examined in the first edition, 1557, contains any trace of the plot of *Euphues*. For the rest, it is to be presumed that Dr. Landmann has made out as strong a case as possible for Guevara as Lyly's source. In the absence of any citation by Dr. Landmann indicating the least indebtedness of Lyly to Guevara for his plot, I conclude that no such indebtedness exists. Mr. Bond, too, whose definitive edition embodies previous research from Morley (1861) to Child (1894), has nothing on this point.

<sup>2</sup> Here there is nothing to correspond to Lucilla's soliloquy (*ante*, p. 3, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Except that in each there occurs again the *motif* of opposition, on the part of the young woman's kindred, to her marriage with a stranger (cf. *ante*, p. 3, n. 1). Ferardo disapproves strongly of his daughter's match with Euphues; the opposition of Sofronia's relatives to Tito is so violent that he is obliged to make them a long speech ending with threats of a Roman's vengeance. Indeed, this piece of rhetoric is one of the centers of interest in Boccaccio's tale.

while Lyly's is a tale of friendship betrayed and faithless love. But, as far as it goes, the parallel is exact.

Boccaccio's story was so famous during the Renaissance that he has the credit of adding another pair to the classical pairs of friends. Koeppl<sup>1</sup> speaks of "die berühmten Freundschaftstypen Titus und Gisippus, die im 16ten Jahrhundert in England nie fehlen dürfen wenn von Freundschaft die Rede ist"; and again:<sup>2</sup> "In der englischen Litteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts finden sich zahllose Anspielungen auf die Helden dieser Erzählung [i. e., *Decam.*, X, 8]; jeder Autor, der das Thema der Freundschaft berührt, nennt ihre Namen. Es wäre zwecklos, den Leser mit der Menge der mir vorliegenden Belege zu belästigen."

Lyly himself twice mentions Titus and Gisippus in the same group with Damon and Pythias, etc. Euphues, tendering friendship to Philautus, says (I, 198):<sup>3</sup> "*Damon to his Pythias, Pylades to his Orestes, Titus to his Gysippus, Theseus to his Pyrothus, Scipio to his Laelius*, was never found more faithfull then *Euphues* will be to his *Philautus*."<sup>4</sup> And again, in remonstrance (II, 102-3): ". . . all friendes that associate at bedde and at boord, are not one of disposition. *Scipio* must haue a noble minde, *Laelius* an humble spirite: *Titus* must lust after *Sempronia*,<sup>5</sup> *Gisippus* must leaue hir: *Damon* must goe take order for his lands, *Pithias* must tarry behinde, as a Pledge for his life: *Philautus* must doe what he will, *Euphues* not what he should."

Though the *Decameron* did not appear in an English translation until 1620,<sup>6</sup> the story of Tito and Gisippo was, presumably, accessible

<sup>1</sup> "Studien zur Geschichte der italienischen Novelle in der englischen Litteratur des XVI Jahrhunderts." *Quellen und Forschungen* (Strasburg, 1892), LXX, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>3</sup> References are to volume and page of Mr. Bond's edition, in which Vol. I contains *Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt*, and Vol. II *Euphues and his England*.

<sup>4</sup> "Four of these five instances occur together in Hyg., *Fab.*, 257, and the fifth (Titus and Gysippus) appears in a sentence of Pettie's *Pallace*, the exact form of which is here borrowed—'. . . neuer Pithias to his Damon, Pylades to his Orestes, nor Gisippus to his Titus was more true, then I wyl be to you' (f. 40r)."—Bond, I, 335 (note *ad loc.*).

<sup>5</sup> *Sic* for *Sofronia*. The same slip in Mr. Bond's "Errata et Addenda," I, 542.

<sup>6</sup> M. A. Scott, "Elizabethan Translations from the Italian." *Modern Language Association Publications*, X, 287-88; Koeppl, *op. cit.*, 86-87. The English *Decameron* of 1620 is reprinted as vols. XL-XLIV of the "Tudor Translations." David Nutt, London, 1909.

to Lyly in one or another of at least eight versions,<sup>1</sup> besides the original. Of these I have been able to examine only two, those of Beroaldus and Elyot. I find no evidence that Lyly drew from either of them; on the contrary, the following parallels, together with the similarities in situation and articulation, point directly to Boccaccio,

<sup>1</sup> I. 1495(?). A Latin translation by Philippus Beroaldus: *Mithica historia Johannis Boccatii, poetae laureati, de Tito Romano, Gisippoque Atheniensi, philosophiae tironibus ac commilitonibus, amicitiae vim elucidans, nuper per Philippum Beroaldum ex italicis in latinum transversa*; 4to, Brit. Mus.; n. d.; n. p.; conjectured Leipzig, 1495.—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 447.—H. H. S. Croft, ed. of Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* (London, 1883), II, 132, n. c. Croft reprints the version of Beroaldus, *ibid.*, 133 ff.

II. 1503-13. A Latin translation by Roberto Nobili, cardinal of Montepulciano: *Boccaccii Gisippus sive de Amicitia*, dedicated to Pope Julius II (1503-13).—Moutier, ed. *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Firenze, 1827-34), V, 71, n. 1, reproducing a note by Martinelli.

III. 1509. A Latin translation by Matteo Bandello: *Titi Romani et Hegesippi Atheniensis Historia in Latinum versa per Fr. Mattheum Bandellum Castronovensem. Mediolani, apud Gotard de Ponte, 1509*; 4to (so according to Warton).—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 447.—*Titi Romani et Egesippi atheniensis amicorum historia in Latinum versa. Mediolani 1509* (so according to Brunet).—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84.

IV. Before 1534(?). An English metrical version by Wm. Walter: *Ye hystory of Tytus & Gesyppus translated out of latyn into englysche by Wylliam Walter*. London [n. d., 4to]. By me Wynkyn de Worde [who died 1534?]. (Walter's source is uncertain; Brunet says it is Bandello's version).—Scott, *op. cit.*,—Koeppel, *op. cit.*

V. 1531. An English prose version by Sir Thomas Elyot: *The wonderfull history of Titus and Gisippus, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect amitie*. This is Book II, chap. xii, of *The Boke named the Governour* (1531). (Elyot's version differs from the original in several respects).—Croft's edition of *The Governour*, II, 132 ff.—Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 446.—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84, n. 3.—Bond, *op. cit.*, I, 542.

VI. 1547-53. A Latin school-play by Ralph Radclif: *Radulphus Radclif . . . scriptis . . . De Titi et Gisippi firmissima amicitia, co. i. "Tenebricosa nocte hac procellis diris,"* etc.—Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. Poole (Oxford, 1902), 332-33; who asserts that he saw the book of this play in Radclif's library. Bale's context shows that Radclif wrote the play to be performed by his pupils in the theater he had built in his schoolhouse.—Temp. *Edward VI* (1547-53), now lost. Miss Scott's suggestion (*op. cit.*, X, 288-89; XI, 447) that this may be identical with VIII (below) seems to me improbable.

VII. 1562. An English metrical version by Edward Lewicke: *The most wonderfull and pleasant history of Titus and Gisippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect frenshyp [sic], drawn into English metre. By Edward Lewicke. Anno 1562*.—So given by Scott, *op. cit.*, XI, 446.—Shown by J. P. Collier, *The Poetical Decameron*, II, 84, 85, to follow Elyot's version closely.—Koeppel, *op. cit.*, 84, n. 3.—Croft, *op. cit.*, II, 132, n. c.—Bond, *op. cit.*, I, 542.

VIII. 1577. A play (probably English) acted at court, February 17, 1577: *The Historie of Titus and Gisippus shoven at White-hall on Shroue-tysday at night* [1576-77], enacted by the Children of Pawles.—Feuillerat, ed. *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain 1908), pp. 270, 461 n.—Cunningham's *Extracts*, p. 114, cited by Bond, I, 335.

For some future time I reserve a discussion of Boccaccio's sources—the O. F. poem "Athis et Prophilias" (circa 1300), and Fabula II in the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus (shortly after 1105), together with other versions of the "Legend of Two Friends." For the present it may be remarked, first, that as there are at least four points in which V (above) both differs from Boccaccio and agrees with *Athis and Prophilias*, I am led to suppose that Elyot was acquainted with the contents of the latter; second, that the whole series probably has two originals, the one oriental, the other a late Greek romance now lost.

or to some very faithful rendering of Boccaccio, as his immediate source.

*Decameron* X, 8

(Page-numbers from *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, ed. Moutier [Firenze 1827-34], Vol. V.)

72-73. Publio Quinzio Fulvo, il quale avendo un suo figliuolo, Tito . . . nominato, di *maraviglioso ingegno*, ad *imprender filosofia* il mandò ad *Atene*.

73. E venendo i due giovani usando insieme . . . una fratellanza e una amicizia si grande ne nacque tra loro, che mai poi da altro caso che da morte *non fu separata*. *Niun di loro aveva nè ben nè riposo se non tanto quanto erano insieme*. . . .<sup>2</sup>

73-74. trovarongli una giovane di *maravigliosa bellezza e di nobilissimi parenti discesa e cittadina d'Atene*, il cui nome era Sofronia.

74. Gisippo pregò un dì Tito che *con lui andasse a vederla*, che *veduta ancora non l'avea*. E nella casa di

lei venuti, ed essa *sedendo in mezzo d'amenduni*, Tito . . . *la cominciò attentissimo a riguardare*, e . . . si

*Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt*

(Page-numbers from Bond, Vol. I.)

(The italics are mine)

184. [Euphues] dwelt in *Athens*.<sup>1</sup> Nature added to this comlinessse of his body . . . a *sharpe capacitie of minde*. . . . This young gallant of more *wit* then wealth, etc.

286. [After his return to Athens, Euphues] gaue his minde to the continuall *studye of Philosophie*.

199. Their friendship augmented every day, insomuch y<sup>t</sup> *the one cōuld not refraine y<sup>e</sup> company of y<sup>e</sup> other one minute*.

199. Don Ferardo *one of the chief governours of the citie*, who although he had a courtly crewe of gentlewomen sojourning in his pallace, yet *his daughter stained the beautie of them all* . . . this gallant gyrl more *faire then fortunate* and yet more fortunate then faithfull, *eclipsed the beautie of them all*.

200. [Philautus] came not as he was accustomed solitarily alone, but *accompanied with his friende Euphues*.

201. And so *they all sate downe*, but Euphues *fed of one dish which euer stooode before him, the beautie of Lucilla*. . . . Heere Euphues at the

<sup>1</sup> "Athens" may be adopted from Guevara. See Landmann, pp. xxiii-xxiv; Bond, I, 155, *ad fin.*, and note *ad loc.*, I, 329.

<sup>2</sup> Boccaccio adds (p. 73): "e in cotal vita perseveraron ben *tre anni*." Lyly's purpose is better served by making the friendship between Euphues and Philautus one that is easily broken, and therefore sudden in its beginnings. At the same time, he prefers to make Philautus a genuine and a constant lover of Lucilla, rather than, like Gisippo, a person content to let his friends choose him a wife. The long service of Philautus also renders Euphues' treachery the more heinous. Philautus says (p. 214): "Concerning Liuia though shee bee faire, yet is shee not so amiable as my Lucilla, whose seruauent I haue bene the tearme of *three yeares*."

*Decameron X, 8*

fortemente . . . . di lei s'accese, quanto alcuno amante di donna s'accendesse giammai. Ma poichè alquanto con lei stati furono. partitisi, a casa se ne tornarono. Quivi Tito solo

*nella sua camera entratosene . . . . seco cominciò a dire: . . . . dove e in che pon tu l'animo e l'amore e la speranza tua? Or non conosci tu . . . . per la intera amicizia la quale è tra te e Gisippo . . . . questa giovene convenirsi avere in quella reverenza*

75. che sorella? Che dunque ami? dove ti lasci trasportare . . . . alla lusinghevole *speranza*? Da luogo alla *ragione*, raffrena il concupiscibile appetito. . . . E poi di Sofronia ricordandosi, *in contrario volgendo*, ogni cosa detta dannava, dicendo: le *leggi* d'amore sono di maggior potenza

che alcune altre: *elle rompono, non che quelle della amistà, ma le divine.*<sup>1</sup>

Both Tito and Euphues now cite classical precedents, but Lyly substitutes more appropriate ones here:

*Quante volte ha già il padre la figliuola amata? il fratello la sorella? la matrigna il figliastro?*

*Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt*

*first sighte was so kindled with desyre, that almost he was lyke to burn to coales.*

205. But Euphues taking Philautus by the hande and giuing the gentlewomen thanckes for their patience and his repast, badde them all farewell, and *went immediately to his chamber.*

208. Amiddest therefore his extremities betweene *hope* and feare, hee

uttered these or the lyke speeches. . . . Was there euer any so fickle so soone to be allured? *any euer so faithless to deceiue his friend?*

(After two paragraphs more on this side of the argument, Euphues likewise makes a sudden turn, and takes the other side.)

Neyther is it forbidden us by *the gods* to loue; . . . . neyther do wee want remedies to recure our maladies, but *reason* to use the meanes. But why goe I about to *hinder the course of loue* with the discourse

209. of law? . . . . Yes Euphues, *where loue beareth sway, friendshippe can haue no shew.*

210. Did not Giges cut Candaules a coate by his own measure? Did not Paris though he were a welcome guest to Menelaus serue his hoste a slippery prancke?

(Lyly reserves Boccaccio's precedents for an occasion when they will be in point:)

<sup>1</sup> Paralleled again, and more closely, by II, 109: "slender affection do I think that, which either the feare of Law, or care of Religion, may diminish."



*Decameron*, X; 8

76. E da questo ragionamento, . . . .  
*tornando in sul contrario, e di questo*  
*in quello, e di quello in questo*, non  
 solamente quel giorno e la notte segu-  
 ente consumò, mà più altri, intanto  
 che il cibo e'l sonno *perdutone*, per

*debolezza* fu costretto a giacere

Gisippo *se ne doleva forte . . . . e*  
*s'ingegnava di confortarlo*, spesso e  
 con istanza domandandolo della  
*cagione de' suoi pensieri e della in-*  
*fermità. Mà avendogli più volte*  
*Tito dato favole per risposta. . . .*

ecc.

*Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt*

231. [Lucilla answers Ferardo:]  
 You neede not muse that I shoulde  
 so sodeinly bee intangled, loue giues  
 no reason of choice, neither will it  
 suffer anye repulse. *Mirha was*  
*enamoured of hir naturall Father,*  
*Biblis of her brother, Phaedra of hir*  
*sonne in law.*<sup>1</sup>

(Boccaccio's cases cited in the same  
 order.)

(Could anything better describe the  
 Euphuistic soliloquy, with its quick  
 turns and "I but"s?)

211. Euphues hauing thus talked  
 with himselfe, Philautus entered the  
 chamber, and finding him so worne  
 and wasted with continual mourning,  
*neither ioying in his meate*, nor  
 reioycing in his friend, *with watry*  
*eyes vttered this speach.* Friende  
 and fellow, as I am not ignoraunt of  
 thy present *weaknesse*, so am I not  
 priuie of the *cause . . . .* either re-

move the *cause* or reueale it. . . .  
 If altogether thou maist not be cured,  
 yet

212. maist thou be *comforted. . . .*  
 Euphues hearing this *cōfort* and  
 friendly counsaile, *dissēbled* his sor-  
 rowing hart, with a smiling face,  
*aunswering* him forthwith as fol-  
 loweth.

210. [Euphues had already re-  
 solved:] Let Philautus behaue him  
 selfe neuer so craftely . . . . *I meane*  
*a little to dissemble with him in wyles.*

Here, as has been said, the two stories part company. Yet it  
 is hard not to believe that the last words quoted from Boccaccio—  
 those "favole" with which Tito tried to deceive Gisippo until con-

<sup>1</sup> Partly repeated, II, 113: "And so farre hath this humour crepte into the minde,  
 that Biblis loued hir brother, Myrra hir Father, Canace hir nephew."

strained to acknowledge his love—gave Lyly an important hint for his continuation. Let Euphues simply persist in *his* “favole”; let him actually deceive Philautus and take Lucilla from him: thenceforth the remainder of the tale will consist of a series of retributions growing naturally out of this initial wrong. Crude poetic justice will demand that Euphues’ treachery be punished by Lucilla’s desertion of him, and that, in turn, Lucilla’s infidelity be punished by her coming to a bad end; so that at last there will be left only Philautus and Livia as possible lovers.

However this may be—whether Lyly was or was not indebted to Boccaccio for the end of his story—it seems safe to say that he was indebted to him for the beginning, and for the articulation and evolution of it as long as Boccaccio’s tale would serve his purpose. That it did serve his purpose admirably is proved by his popularity and influence in his own time, and in ours by the more than historical interest, rather the “human” interest, which, apart from the philosophy and the style of *Euphues*, even now attaches to his plot.

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